CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

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ENGLISH

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 3 July 1969, at 3.30 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. M.A. HUSAIN (India)

GE.69-15113

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:	Mr. S.A. FRAZAO
	Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA
	Mr. L.F. PALMEIRA LAMPREIA
Bulgaria:	Mr. K. CHRISTOV
	Mr. M. KARASSIMEONOV
Burma:	U KYAW MIN
Canada:	Mr. G. IGNATIEFF
	Mr. R.W. CLARK
	Mr. J.R. MORDEN
Czechoslovakia:	Mr. T. LAHODA
	Mr. J. STRUCKA
	Mr. J. CINGROS
Ethiopia:	Mr. G. ALUIA
India:	Mr. M.A. HUSAIN
	Mr. N. KRISHNAN
	Mr. K.P. JAIN
Italy:	Mr. R. CARACCIOLO
	Mr. F. LUCIOLI OTTIERI
	Mr. R. BORSARELLI
	Mr. U. PESTALOZZA
Japan:	Mr. K. ASAKAI
	Mr. Y. NAKAYAMA
	Mr. T. SENGOKU
	Mr. J. SAKAMOTO
Mexico:	Mr. J. CASTANEDA
	Miss E. AGUIRRE
	Mr. H. CARDENAS RODRIGUEZ

Mongolia:	Mr. M. DUGERSUREN
	Mr. J. SANZAR
	Mr. Z. ERDEDCO
	Mr. S. ADIKHOU
Nigeria:	Alhaji SULE KOLO
	Mr. C.O. HOLLIST
	Mr. L.A. MALIKI
Poland:	Mr. H. JAROSZEK
	Mr. A. SKOWRONSKI
	Mr. H. STEPOSZ
	Mr. R. WLAZLO
Romania:	Mr. M. ECOBESCO
	Mr. O. IONESCO
	Mr. C. GEORGESCO
	Mr. F. ROSU
Sweden:	Mr. A. EDELSTAM
	Mr. O. DAHLEN
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:	Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
	Mr. R.M. TIMERBAEV
	Mr. V.V. SHOUSTOV
	Mr. V.S. TOULINOV
United Arab Republic:	Mr. H. KHALLAF
	Mr. O. SIRRY
	Mr. E.S. El REEDY
	Mr. Y. RIZK

United Kingdom:	Mr. I.F. PORTER
	Mr. W.N. HILLIER-FRY
	Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE
United States of America:	Mr. J.F. LEONARD
	Mr. A.F. NEIDLE
	Mr. W. GIVAN
Special Representative of the Secretary-General:	Mr. D. PROTITCH

1. The CHAIRMAN (India): I declare open the 416th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

2. Before we begin our deliberations I should like to take this opportunity as Chairman of today's meeting -- and I hope that in this capacity I am expressing the sentiment of all the delegations present -- most warmly and heartily to welcome to our midst the delegations of Japan and the Mongolian People's Republic. I have no doubt that in their participation as members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament they will make a most valuable contribution to our work, thereby helping to strengthen and to promote further the cause of peace in the world.

3. I now call upon the leader of the Japanese delegation.

4. Mr. ASAKAI (Japan): I should like first of all to express my profound gratitude to the Chairman of the day, Ambassador Husain of India, who has extended such a warm welcome to us on behalf of all the members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

5. On this occasion I should like, with the indulgence of the Committee, to read out a message dated 3 July 1969 from the Prime Minister of Japan to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. The message reads:

"On behalf of the Japanese Government and people, I should like to send my most cordial greetings to the Disarmament Committee.

"In the world today, which is filled with persistent tensions and confrontations, the most urgent task facing all of us is to make every effort for the realization of a peaceful society free from the fear of war.

"Since disarmament must be an integral part of any such effort, the people of the world have been constantly watching, with keen interest and expectation, the discussions on disarmament problems held by the Committee over the last several years.

"Meanwhile the Japanese Government and people, as a result of their experience in the past, have never ceased to desire the elimination of nuclear weapons and the realization of an international society free from war, and have upheld the Constitution, which is without parallel in the history of the world, renouncing war as a sovereign right of the nation.

"The Japanese Government and people, who have so long endeavoured to further the cause of disarmament, are most happy that Japan's admission to the Disarmament Committee has now been realized and that the Japanese delegation is today participating in the work of the Committee.

(Mr. Asakai, Japan)

"Since the problem of disarmament today involves a number of complicated and many-sided factors, it is extremely difficult for us to find a solution to it even with the most persistent effort. To achieve the final goal of general and complete disarmament we must strive steadily to find one solution after another of whatever issues can be agreed on through the wisdom and perseverance of all nations.

"It is my earnest hope that my country will make a substantial contribution to the work of the Committee; and I also wish to state that the Japanese Government intends to strive toward that end, working in close co-operation with all the other governments represented on the Committee."

6. The CHAIRMAN (India): I call now upon the leader of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic.

7. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): First of all, on behalf of its Government the Mongolian delegation wishes to express to the co-Chairmen of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament deep gratitude for having recommended it as an additional member of this eminent international body, the very name of which expresses its lofty aims. We should also like to express our thanks to the Chairman of today's meeting, the representative of India, for his warm congratulations and good wishes to our delegation and his kind words about my country.

8. It is indeed a great honour for my delegation to serve on this Committee, an important international instrument called upon to co-ordinate and elaborate measures on disarmament in the interests of ensuring universal peace and security and strengthening confidence among nations. We are fully aware of the high responsibility which membership of this important organ has placed on us. We also understand full well that we shall have to share, too, the tremendous duty which this Committee is bound to have towards mankind.

9. It is in this spirit that I wish to assure you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee that the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic will spare no efforts in order to contribute to the successful work of the Committee dedicated to the realization of the cherished desire of mankind, general and complete disarmament. In our efforts towards this goal my delegation will be inspired by and will draw confidence from the principles of the genuinely peaceful foreign policy of its Government, which is gaining ever more international recognition. Our presence here in this enlarged Committee on Disarmament is a testimony to that fact. At the same time my delegation

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

places great hopes in the kind co-operation of the members of this Committee, whose rich experience will be for us an important source of encouragement and successful work.

10. The Mongolian People's Republic, together with the socialist countries and other peace-loving States, is consistently pursuing a foreign policy directed at ensuring universal peace and security and strengthening peaceful co-operation among nations. This policy stems from the very socio-political essence of our socialist society; and that lends a great moral weight to our foreign policy.

11. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers the realization of general and complete disarmament under effective international control to be a cardinal issue of the day. Our Government has consistently supported all the measures and constructive steps promoting the cessation of the arms race and removing the threat of a world thermonuclear war.

12. That is borne out by the fact that the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic was among the first to sign and ratify the Treaty banning nuclear-weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water (ENDC/100/Rev.1), the Treaty on the Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (General Assembly resolution 2222 (XXI) (Annex)), as well as the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII)(Annex), ENDC/226*), which can pave the way for subsequent positive steps in the field of nuclear disarmament.

13. So the Mongolian delegation states here with satisfaction that our small country joins this Committee with fairly impressive assets of positive acts in support of the Committee's efforts.

14. The statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic on 2 June 1969 in connexion with the inclusion of the Mongolian People's Republic in the enlarged Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, stresses that -

> "... The Mongolian People's Republic, as a member of the Committee on Disarmament, as a socialist State, will spare no efforts in order to contribute its share to the achievement of effective results in the negotiations on general and complete disarmament and to the cause of securing and strengthening peace throughout the world."

15. My delegation hopes that it will have further opportunities of stating the position of its Government on the matters which are before the Committee.

16. The CHAIRMAN (India): With that statement the open part of this meeting of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is concluded, and I would request the Press to withdraw.

The meeting was suspended at 2.45 p.m. and resumed at 3.50 p.m.

17. The CHAIRMAN (India): Now that we are beginning our closed meeting I should like to welcome warmly Ambassador Leonard, who has joined us for the resumption of this session. We heartily welcome him and are sure that with his assistance our deliberations will proceed well and successfully.

18. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): We are very happy to resume our work here in Geneva, and we are grateful for the hospitality of the United Nations in making these facilities available to us.

19. We also appreciate that once again this Committee will have the benefit of the assistance and counsel of our distinguished colleague and friend who represents the Secretary-General, Dr. Protitch, as well as of his staff from the United Nations.

20. I should like to join in welcoming the new participants in this Committee. We are very pleased that Japanese and Mongolian representatives will now join in the Committee's work; and the message we have just heard from Prime Minister Sato provides us with evidence that our Japanese colleagues will indeed make a significant contribution to the work of this Committee in carrying out its important tasks.

21. Before passing to the substantive part of my remarks I should like to make just a few personal comments. It is an honour to be present among you today; and I am most grateful to our Chairman of today, Ambassador Husain, for his kind remarks directed to me. This Committee is clearly the most successful, and for this reason the most esteemed, of all disarmament committees that have existed. It has achieved this pre-eminence not by luck but because so many capable and dedicated men have worked over the years to achieve concrete results. This has been true of those who have sat at this table in the past, and it is true of those who are here today. All of the members of this Committee may be confident that I and the other members of the United States delegation will do our best to contribute to the continuing achievements of this Committee; and I shall certainly do everything I can to maintain the traditions established by my illustrious predecessors on the American delegation.

(Mr. Leonard, United States)

22. The President of the United States has asked that I convey to this Committee a message containing his thoughts about the Committee's work. I should like now to read that message and to ask that it be made a Conference document[1]:

"I have followed closely the activities of the Spring session of the Disarmament Committee, and Ambassador Smith has reported to me on the prospects for progress in the near future.

"As the Conference resumes its work after a recess of six weeks, I would like to address the following thoughts to the members of the Committee:

"First, the ground has been prepared for concrete arms control negotiations. In addition to the valuable suggestions by many members of the Committee, draft agreements have been submitted by the United States[2] and by the Soviet Union[3] to prevent an arms race on the sea-beds. Although differences exist, it should not prove beyond our ability to find common ground so that a realistic agreement may be achieved that enhances the security of all countries.

"The framing of an international agreement to apply to more than 100 million square miles of the earth's surface lying under the oceans is a high challenge to our vision and our statesmanship. I ask the participants in this Committee to join with us in elaborating a measure that is both practical and significant. With good will on all sides and a fair measure of hard work, we may achieve agreement in the course of this session. With each passing day the sea-bed becomes more important for the security and well-being of all nations. Our goal should be to present a sound sea-bed arms control measure to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

"Second, the Secretary-General of the United Nations is issuing a study[4] on the effects of chemical and biological warfare. Experts from many countries have contributed to this important work. I am pleased that an expert from the United States, Dr. Ivan Bennett, has also played a role in the study. We welcome the Secretary-General's study, since it will draw the attention of all mankind to an area of common concern.

1/ ENDC/253.

2/ ENDC/249.

3/ ENDC/240.

4/ A/7575.

(Mr. Leonard, United States)

"The delegation of the United States is prepared to examine carefully, together with other delegations, any approaches that offer the prospect of reliable arms control in this field.

"Third, in my letter to Ambassador Smith on 18 March[5/] at the opening of the first session of this Committee, I reaffirmed United States support for the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban adequately verified; I stated my conviction that efforts must be made toward greater understanding of the verification issue. I am pleased that, during your first session, serious exploration of verification problems took place. The United States delegation will be prepared to continue to participate in efforts towards greater understanding of this key issue. It is only by means of careful study, with due regard for all of the relevant technical and political considerations, that progress can be made.

"Fourth, I recently announced that the United States hopes to be able to commence talks with the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitations around 31 July or shortly thereafter. When these talks begin, which I hope and trust will be soon, they will of necessity be bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States Government is, however, deeply conscious of its responsibilities to its allies and to the community of nations.

"While these talks progress, it is particularly important that multilateral negotiations continue in this Committee in an atmosphere of determination and promise. Arms control is without dispute a subject of direct concern to all nations, large and small. The wisdom, the advice, and the informed concern of many nations are needed in a continuing body such as this to ensure that no opportunities are missed to achieve genuine progress.

"This Committee clearly is the world's pre-eminent multilateral disarmament forum. Its record of accomplishment, which needs no recital here, is greater than that of any other disarmament committee in history. I trust that your Committee will continue its efforts with all of the combined skill and dedication which its members have demonstrated in the past.

"The negotiation of sound arms control and disarmament, like all work contributing to peace, must be an integrated and comprehensive effort. Progress

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5/ ENDC/239*

(Mr. Leonard, United States)

in the tasks of your Committee will be a contribution to a world of peaceful international cooperation, a world where fear and conflict are supplanted by the honest give-and-take of negotiation aimed at meeting the legitimate aspirations of all.

"The United States will work in every way to bring us closer to such a world."

23. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): Today the Committee on Disarmament is resuming its work. We are beginning the negotiations at the present session with a broader composition than before. To the participants in the Committee there have been added two States -- the Mongolian People's Republic and Japan. In this connexion allow me, on behalf of the Soviet delegation and on my own behalf, to welcome among us the distinguished representative of the Mongolian People's Republic, Ambassador Dugersuren, and the distinguished representative of Japan, Ambassador Asakai, and to wish them every success in the course of solving disarmament problems. We express the hope that the participation of the delegations of the Mongolian People's Republic and Japan in the work of the Committee will contribute to the fulfilment of the important and responsible tasks facing our Conference.

24. It is well known that the Mongolian People's Republic, consistently pursuing a peaceful foreign policy, is making a substantial contribution to the cause of disarmament and the easing of international tension. It has ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (ENDC/226*), actively supports all constructive proposals aimed at solving urgent disarmament problems, and has itself more than once taken a valuable initiative with the object of contributing towards ending the arms race and ensuring international security. In the statement which the representative of the Mongolian People's Republic, Ambassador Dugersuren, made today at the open meeting of the Committee, he reaffirmed the determination and endeavour of his country to do everything possible to ensure progress in achieving agreement on the disarmament questions that are ripe for solution, and to contribute to the success of our work.

25. We are also aware of the great interest shown in the problems of disarmament by Japan, a country which is playing an important role in international affairs. We are gratified to note in the statement made by the representative of Japan, Ambassador Asakai,

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at today's open meeting and in the message from the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Sato, which he read out to us, the intention of his country to contribute to the achievement of agreements on the questions with which our Committee on Disarmament is to deal.

26. Allow me also to welcome the newly-appointed head of the United States delegation, Ambassador Leonard, and to wish him success in carrying out the functions of head of his country's delegation and co-Chairman of the Committee on Disarmament. We also welcome the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Protitch, and his colleagues, who carry out the very important function of assisting our Committee in its work.

27. Today, when the Committee on Disarmament is resuming its work, we are faced once again with a wide range of important and crucial problems awaiting solution. In present-day conditions, when the arms race is increasing its momentum and international tension continues unabated, it is particularly important that at the present session our Conference should make a good start in its work and move forward in solving the questions facing it. The adoption of measures designed to avert the threat of nuclear war and put a stop to the dangerous arms race in all spheres has been and continues to be the main task which our Committee on Disarmament is called upon to carry out.

28. As in the past, the Soviet Union intends to exert every effort to achieve the speediest possible solution of urgent disarmament questions. When we speak in favour of solving disarmament questions, we start from the premise that today a stable peace is not a utopia but a fully attainable goal. There exist in the world today powerful social and political forces which oppose war and are in favour of lessening tension and broadening international cooperation. The action of these forces obviates the inevitability of a new world war and creates a genuine possibility of realizing the aspirations of the peoples for peace. The conclusion of the Treaty banning nuclear tests in three environments (ENDC/100/Rev.1) and the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons show that, when the proper efforts are made, concrete results can be achieved in the cause of disarmament and of preserving and consolidating peace.

29. During the session of the Committee on Disarmament last spring a number of important questions were considered. The attention of the Committee was devoted primarily to the prohibition of the use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor for military purposes, the discontinuance of underground nuclear weapon tests, the prohibition of

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the use of such weapons and the question of chemical and bacteriological weapons. The consideration of those problems was not completed. It did not lead to the elaboration of agreed documents. It is our task to continue the consideration of those and of other disarmament questions with a view to the preparation by the Committee of appropriate draft agreements for submission to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

30. As regards individual disarmament problems among the aforementioned ones considered at the previous session of the Committee, it must be noted that considerable attention was devoted to preventing the use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor for military purposes. At the beginning of the last session of the Committee the Soviet Union submitted a draft treaty providing for the prohibition of all military activities on the sea-bed (ENDC/240). This solution of the problem of military activities on the sea-bed and the ocean floor was supported by many members of the Committee. Nevertheless, the United States and the other Western Powers participating in the Committee's work did not agree to the prohibition of all military activities in that environment. At the end of the Committee's session the United States submitted a draft treaty (ENDC/249) with a view to a partial solution of this problem, namely the prohibition of the emplacement on the sea-bed and the ocean floor of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. The Soviet delegation believes that that partial solution of the problem is inadequate because it cannot ensure a definitive and complete solution of the problem of preventing the arms race spreading to the sea-bed and the ocean floor. We are convinced that it would be much more effective to adopt a different approach which would ensure a radical solution of this problem, namely complete demilitarization of the sea-bed.

31. Many representatives stressed in their statements the need to undertake effective measures in this field before the arms race gets fully under way in this sphere of human activity which is only now being opened up. It behoves our Committee to carry out this task. In elaborating a draft treaty on the sea-bed, a number of important questions requiring agreement arise, namely: the scope of the prohibition, the definition of the geographical area covered by the treaty, the establishment of a

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system of control over compliance by States with the provisions of the treaty, and so on. We express the hope that the solution of these questions will not encounter insuperable difficulties and that a draft treaty to prevent the use of the sea-bed for military purposes will be elaborated at the present session of the Committee and then submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations. The conclusion of such a treaty would have a positive influence on the solution of other disarmament problems and would contribute to improving the international situation as a whole.

32. There is no doubt that the most important problem in the field of disarmament continues to be that of solving nuclear disarmament questions, including the discontinuance of underground nuclear weapon tests and the prohibition of the use of such weapons. We should like to emphasize once again that the question of the discontinuance of underground nuclear tests is ripe for solution both at the political level and from the point of view of the technical feasibility of control over such a ban by national means of detection and identification. Basing ourselves on this position, we are prepared, as before, to agree to the discontinuance of underground nuclear tests. We should like to hope that the Western Powers will be able to reconsider their demand for international inspections in order to exercise control over the prohibition of underground nuclear tests.

33. A considerable part of the discussion at the previous session of the Committee was taken up by the problem of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons. In regard to this problem, however, the Western Powers -- the United States and the United Kingdom -- spoke from negative positions, which do not allow any progress to be made towards the solution of this question. The task consists of once again exploring all possibilities and exerting efforts for the speediest possible solution of these important questions relating to nuclear disarmament. It would be wrong to confine ourselves to noting the divergencies in the positions of States on the aforesaid questions and to abandon any further search for their solution.

34. Alongside the aforementioned questions the Committee also considered the problem of the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, including the prohibition of their production and stockpiling, and their withdrawal from the arsenals of States.

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So long as nuclear weapons exist, their prohibition and elimination will remain invariably the most important problem in the field of disarmament. Closely linked with the solution of this problem is the development of the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy, which opens up before mankind wide prospects of technical and economic progress. Taking into account the importance of this problem, the Soviet Government proposed in its Memorandum of 1 July 1968 (ENDC/227) that all the nuclear Powers should initiate immediately negotiations on the discontinuance of the production of nuclear weapons, the reduction of stockpiles and the subsequent complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons under appropriate international control.

35. At its spring session the Committee also discussed the question of chemical and bacteriological weapons, a question which attracted considerable attention on the part of the members of the Committee. Indeed, this is understandable. Chemical and bacteriological weapons have a tremendous lethal power and are a means of mass destruction of people. Our task is to ban these weapons altogether and to eliminate them from the military arsenals of States. A first step along this path should be the greatest possible reinforcement of the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons. This reinforcement is to be achieved first of all through accession to the Protocol -- which reflects an important standard of international law and played a positive role during the Second World War -- by those States which so far are not parties to this Protocol.

36. The Committee on Disarmament must continue to explore the question of the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons, bearing in mind the need to obtain the fullest possible solution of this problem. We hope that the Secretary-General's report (A/7575) on the effects of the use of these types of weapon, prepared under General Assembly resolution 2454 A (XXIII) (ENDC/237), will facilitate progress in this direction.

37. The Committee also considered other problems of disarmament. Many delegations devoted considerable attention to the problem of general and complete disarmament. Our delegation expressed its views on this important problem, basing itself on the urgency of a solution. We hope that the present session of the Committee will continue to discuss the problem of general and complete disarmament with a view to

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giving the negotiations on this question more concrete forms which would help progress to be made in solving it. We also hope that progress in elaborating and agreeing upon partial measures of disarmament will create favourable opportunities for the solution of wider disarmament problems.

38. That, briefly, is the situation in the Committee as regards the consideration of disarmament questions. It is not our task to make a generalized assessment of this situation. Nevertheless, we share the opinion expressed at the last session by a number of representatives to the effect that the consideration in the Committee of disarmament problems and agreement upon them are not sufficiently intensive. It is necessary to activate the negotiations in every possible way and to exert greater efforts in order to agree upon concrete steps in the field of disarmament.

39. We consider that at the present moment, in order to preserve peace and ensure success in the disarmament negotiations, it is a matter of urgency to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to implement the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In advocating the ratification of that Treaty, we regard it as a link in the chain of measures intended to lead to nuclear disarmament. The fact that a number of States which are getting very close to producing nuclear weapons still avoid acceding to the non-proliferation Treaty creates certain difficulties for further progress towards disarmament. In this particular case we have in mind, first and foremost, the Federal Republic of Germany, where there are very influential forces which are striving to obtain access to nuclear weapons and endeavouring to frustrate the solution of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

40. When considering concrete questions relating to disarmament, we must at the same time devote particular attention to the problem of the implementation of the international agreements already agreed upon in the Committee. If a situation should come about where international agreements on disarmament, after having been approved by a wide range of States, were blocked by the forces which oppose disarmament, the effectiveness of disarmament negotiations both within the Committee and outside it would be called into question. Such a situation, of course, cannot be allowed.

41. In concluding our statement today, we should like to stress also the fact that we shall have to submit to the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the

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United Nations a report on the work accomplished. It is quite obvious that concrete results are expected from the Committee. That enhances the importance of the current session of the Committee and lays a great responsibility upon us. The Soviet delegation will do its utmost in order that our discussion may be carried on in a constructive spirit and lead to the positive results which are vitally necessary for the strengthening of international peace and security.

42. Mr. CASTANEDA (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): On the express instructions of my Government, I should like first of all to extend a very warm welcome to the delegations of Japan and Mongolia, which are present for the first time at a meeting of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. We have always believed -- and we have said so from the outset -- that States like those which these delegations represent could make a valuable contribution to the accomplishment of the tasks which the United Nations General Assembly has entrusted to us since 1961 and which it insistently repeats to us each year in its resolutions.

43. We consider it essential, however, to place on record the position of principle which the Government of Mexico has upheld, and continues to uphold, in regard to the enlargement of the Committee. This is all the more necessary because up to now there has been nothing in the documents of the Committee to explain the presence among us of the aforesaid delegations. Consequently my delegation will now proceed to read out the full text of the statement which the co-Chairmen circulated to the other members of the Committee on 23 May:

(spoke in English)

"The co-Chairmen of the ENDC have been in consultation for some time about the composition of this Committee, Our aim is to promote further the use of this Committee as an instrument to pursue the relaxation of international tensions and to negotiate disarmament measures, ending ultimately in an agreement on general and complete disarmament, in accordance with the report of the United States and the Soviet Union to the sixteenth General Assembly on the results of bilateral talks -- Agreed Statement of Principles of 21 September 1961.[6]

6/ (ENDC/5)

(Mr. Castañeda, Mexico)

"The choice of additional candidate countries has been most difficult for both co-Chairmen. Many countries desire and deserve to be included in this Committee, but it has been found impossible to reach agreement on a co-Chairmen's recommendation before the close of this session which would preserve the balance of the Committee when it was established in 1961.

"The co-Chairmen, at this stage, have agreed on two countries, Japan and the Mongolian People's Republic, which they could jointly recommend as additional members of the Committee.

"The co-Chairmen also agree that the enlargement of the Committee cannot be confined to these two countries. Various other regions of the world should be represented, to give the enlargement geographic and political balance.

"The co-Chairmen will continue their efforts to reach agreement urgently on these other countries during the recess.

"The co-Chairmen would like the views of the Committee on whether it would be appropriate to invite Japan and the Mongolian People's Republic to participate in the summer session, scheduled to start 3 July 1969."

(continued in Spanish)

44. We should also like to have included in the record of our meeting today the full text of the memorandum of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, dated 2 June, which was transmitted by the delegation of my country to the co-Chairmen on 15 June, in response to the request made by the co-Chairmen themselves in the last paragraph of their statement which I have just read out. That memorandum was worded as follows:

"The Secretariat of Foreign Affairs of Mexico has given careful study to the joint statement of the co-Chairmen of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament which was put before the Committee at its informal meeting on 23 May last and, in response to the request made by the authors of that statement, has pleasure in setting forth below the opinion of the Government of Mexico on the subject:

1. The Government of Mexico has no objection to the composition of the Committee being enlarged to include Japan and Mongolia, since it believes that both States, and more particularly the former, which is the only State whose own people have suffered the terrible effects of nuclear weapons, will be able to make a valuable contribution to the Committee's work.

(Mr. Castañeda, Mexico)

2. The Government of Mexico considers, however, that inclusion of these States in the Committee should not take effect until:

(a) the co-Chairmen have reached agreement, in consultation with the representatives of the eight non-aligned States members of the Committee, to suggest the simultaneous addition of two other States belonging to this category, in order to preserve the balance which at present exists in the Committee and which has proved very advantageous for its work;

(b) the United Nations General Assembly has been informed and has had an opportunity to endorse the agreement reached by the co-Chairmen concerning the enlargement in question, as it did in 1961 by means of resolution 1722 (XVI), in which the members which at present compose the Committee are specifically mentioned. This procedure appears to be essential in the light also of the provisions of resolution 1660 (XVI), which was also adopted in 1961 and which constitutes the immediate antecedent to the establishment of this Committee. In that resolution, as will be recalled, the General Assembly both urged the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union to reach agreement 'on the composition of a negotiating body which both they and the rest of the world can regard as satisfactory', and requested the two Governments to report 'to the General Assembly, before the conclusion of its sixteenth session, on the results of such negotiations'."

45. The Government of Mexico agrees that the function of the two co-Chairmen is absolutely essential for the smooth running of the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament; but at the same time it takes the view that, as far as the admission of new members to the Committee is concerned, their function should be confined to making recommendations to the General Assembly. In its resolution 1660 (XVI) the General Assembly expressed "the hope that such negotiations" -- that is, those to take place between the United States and the Soviet Union at the time on the composition of the Committee -- "will be started without delay and will lead to an agreed recommendation to the General Assembly". I emphasize the word "recommendation". The recommendation, by its very nature, has to be made before admission by the Assembly. Making a recommendation is not equivalent to an a posteriori report that the Committee has been enlarged in one way or another. We believe that, although there are differences between the present situation and that which prevailed in 1961, basically the procedure for establishing or enlarging the Committee is the same.

(Mr. Castañeda, Mexico)

46. Having said that, I repeat my very warm welcome to the representatives of Japan and Mongolia.

47. Lastly, I am happy to inform the Committee that the preliminary meeting for the establishment of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America under the Treaty of Tlatelolco (ENDC/186) was held in Mexico from 24 to 28 June. The number of signatory States required in order to set up the Agency was eleven. So far thirteen States have adhered. At that meeting eight basic documents for putting the Agency into operation were approved. These were the draft rules of procedure of the General Conference, the draft agreement between the Headquarters State and the Agency, a draft agreement on privileges and immunities, draft staff regulations, the draft budget, draft financial regulations, a draft of the scale of contributions and a draft of the establishment of a working fund.

48. On 2 September the first session of the General Conference of the new Agency will be held. Besides considering and possibly approving the eight preparatory documents I have mentioned, the General Conference will examine, among other items on its agenda, the implementation of article 13 of the Treaty relating to bilateral safeguard agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency. Another item of some importance on the agenda of the First General Conference of interest to our Committee is the one entitled "Status of the Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco): Report of the Depositary Government".

49. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, sent a message to the preparatory meeting expressing the hope that by the time the General Conference convenes in September there will have been further signatures and ratifications of the Additional Protocol II to the Treaty which deals with the guarantees of the nuclear Powers.

50. Mr. ASAKAI (Japan): I should like first to reiterate my gratitude to the representatives who have preceded me for welcoming my country to this Committee.

51. Taking advantage of the occasion of my country's admission to this important Committee, I should like with your indulgence to explain at some length the attitude of the Japanese Government on the question of disarmament as a whole, as well as my country's fundamental positions on several problems in this field.

(Mr. Asakai, Japan)

52. The aim of any State's policy is to promote the well-being of its people, and the achievement of that well-being can only be realized in a society free from war. Again, the greatest responsibility of all of us living in the world of today is to ensure that our descendants shall inherit a peaceful and prosperous world.

53. Even today, when the curtain has risen on the space age, various kinds of confrontations and hostile feelings caused by such factors as differences in ideology, religion, political system, and so on, continue to exist; and those confrontations and hostile feelings are becoming increasingly more dangerous than in the past with the appearance of nuclear weapons possessing the power of immense destruction.

54. Despite all these situations, the human race has indeed been fortunate in having been successful in avoiding the outbreak in some way or other of a war on a world-wide scale. While this has doubtless been due in large measure to the existence of a balance of power in the deterrents of the super-Powers, it should not be ignored that forums for discussions relating to disarmament have existed almost constantly since the Second World War, providing the super-Powers with a suitable place for a dialogue between themselves, thus helping greatly to avoid a major war. Again, we cannot overlook the fact that all the other members of this Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, established seven years ago, have greatly aided the co-operation between the super-Powers. In other words, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has not only carried on discussions but has also contributed to the maintenance of world peace through those discussions. A peace preserved only by the balance of power, however, can never be satisfactory, since we shall still be constantly menaced by the danger that such a precarious situation would be easily destroyed by the collapse of the balance. Accordingly, our ideal and ultimate goal must be to achieve the complete elimination of nuclear weapons through a gradual scaling-down of the size of the countries' deterrents while carefully maintaining the balance of deterrence that exists between the super-Powers.

55. More than twenty years have already elapsed since Japan suffered a tremendous catastrophe caused by nuclear weapons. It is their experience of the suffering caused by such weapons that has made so strong the desire of the Japanese people to eliminate nuclear weapons completely. The people of my country, after having had this experience, established their Constitution -- the like of which cannot be found in the history of the world -- in which they state their resolve to renounce war as

(Mr. Asakai, Japan)

a sovereign right of the nation, and they have firmly upheld this Constitution ever since. Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution states:

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes."

56. The Japanese Government also passed the Atomic Energy Basic Law in 1955, when atomic energy was just beginning to be used for peaceful purposes in Japan, and stated clearly the principle that the research, development and utilization of atomic energy shall be limited to peaceful purposes. Furthermore, the Japanese Government is strictly adhering to the policy of not producing, not possessing and not bringing in nuclear weapons.

57. The reason why the Japanese Government is maintaining the policy I have just mentioned, of renouncing war and not possessing nuclear weapons, is the earnest wish of the Japanese people that nuclear weapons should be eliminated from the earth and that an international society free from the threat of war should be realized. Against the background of this earnest wish of the people of my country, the Japanese Government has been appealing to the world for the promotion of disarmament on every available occasion, including such occasions as the meetings of the United Nations General Assembly.

58. My country has also been co-operating for the last three years with other countries in an effort to find a solution to the problem of verification for the prohibition of underground nuclear weapon tests. Furthermore, scientists from my country have participated in the preparation of the United Nations Secretary-General's reports on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons (A/6858) and of chemical and bacteriological weapons (A/7575). In this way my country has already been taking an active part in the work for disarmament; and we reiterate our determination that Japan shall continue to contribute to the maintenance of world peace through the promotion of disarmament by participating in the work of this Disarmament Committee, which is the principal form for the discussion of the question of disarmament.

59. The opening paragraph of the Charter of the United Nations manifests the determination of the peoples of the Member States to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The Japanese people also, in the preamble to their Constitution, state:

(Mr. Asakai, Japan)

"We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time ... We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want."

Such an ideal society enjoying peace "for all time" cannot be realized unless the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations are strengthened to such an extent that each nation will be able to give up its own armaments and to rely entirely for its security upon the United Nations collective security system. Needless to say, the society in which we are living at present is far from one in which general and complete disarmament could be realized at a single stroke.

60. As we are all aware, the United States and the Soviet Union have submitted their respective drafts of a treaty on general and complete disarmament (ENDC/30 and Add. 1-3; ENDC/2/Rev.1) to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament; but since then negotiations on this question have been at a standstill. One of the reasons for this stagnation is that not all the nuclear Powers have been participating in the discussions on disarmament. The partial test-ban Treaty (ENDC/100/Rev.1) concluded in 1963 is still limited in its effectiveness because of the non-adherence to it of some nuclear Powers. How can we hope for the realization of general and complete disarmament without the participation of all the nuclear Powers? We earnestly hope, therefore, that those nuclear Powers which have not been participating in the international discussions on disarmament will do so as soon as possible.

61. On the other hand, it is my delegation's opinion that in order to achieve general and complete disarmament we must work towards it by the steady accumulation and successful implementation of whatever collateral measures can be agreed upon meanwhile. For this reason we welcome the accumulation of such collateral measures as the partial test-ban Treaty, the Treaty on Antarctica (United Nations Treaty Series, Vol. 402, p.71 et seq.) the outer space Treaty (General Assembly resolution 2222 (XXI)) and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (ENDC/226*). We esteem particularly highly the efforts of this Committee to conclude the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

62. However, in promoting collateral measures we must always take into account the fact that they must be such as will help to maintain and strengthen world peace at each stage. In this connexion we attach special importance to point 5 of the principles for general and complete disarmament agreed on between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1961, which states:

(Mr. Asakai, Japan)

"All measures of general and complete disarmament should be balanced so that at no stage of the implementation of the treaty could any State or group of States gain military advantage and that security is ensured equally for all." (ENDC/5, p.2)

63. The priority of nuclear disarmament over other questions of disarmament has already been confirmed by last year's session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament; and we also entirely support that opinion. We believe that the United States and the Soviet Union will be able to proceed to a considerable extent with nuclear disarmament without causing an unfavourable balance in relation to other nuclear-weapon States; since in the field of nuclear armament, unlike the position in the field of conventional armaments, both the United States and the Soviet Union enjoy outstanding superiority over other States.

64. In discussing nuclear disarmament it is necessary to take into consideration the questions both of quality and of quantity. The nuclear weapons which already exist include weapons ranging from megaton nuclear weapons capable of destroying at one stroke a huge city with a population of several millions to tactical nuclear weapons with low kiloton yields which can be used in the field; and research and development work to increase their efficiency is still continuing. The best way to check this qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons is simply to prohibit nuclear weapon tests.

65. In spite of the fact that the existing volume of nuclear weapons is said to be more than enough to annihilate the whole human race, stockpiles of nuclear weapons are still growing. The most effective way to curb the increase in the quantity of nuclear weapons is to halt the production of fissionable nuclear materials for the production of nuclear weapons and to transfer the existing stockpiles of these materials to use for peaceful purposes. Because the objective of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is limited to the checking of the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons, we must now make every effort to curb the vertical proliferation of these weapons through the realization of a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon tests, the cessation of production of fissionable nuclear materials for military use, and the transfer of the stockpiles of these materials to use for peaceful purposes.

(Mr. Asakai, Japan)

66. Although the partial test-ban Treaty was concluded in 1963, we have not yet achieved the prohibition of underground nuclear-weapon tests, which is the only field not covered by that Treaty. The most difficult technical problem in formulating a treaty banning underground nuclear-weapon tests is that of verification to ensure compliance with the treaty. In recent years, however, great advances have been made in research and international co-operation relating to the detection and identification of underground nuclear-weapon tests by seismological methods.

67. The study meetings on seismic methods of monitoring underground explosions which took place last year in Stockholm under the auspices of the International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research in Stockholm and with the participation of experts from ten countries, including four nuclear-weapon States, reached the conclusion that, as far as underground disturbances of a magnitude greater than 4.75 are concerned, discrimination between nuclear explosions and earthquakes would be possible with almost 100 per cent accuracy from outside the country in which the disturbances took place (ENDC/230). This is a fact which marks a new epoch in the negotiations aimed at prohibiting underground nuclear-weapon tests. We should make every effort to improve teleseismic observation techniques to the point where we can with certainty identify all underground explosions.

68. At the same time short-range observation must also be recognized as deserving intensive study so that we may find a solution to the problem of identifying such disturbances as cannot yet be identified by teleseismic observation. One of the possible methods of making such short-range observation effective would be for each nuclear-weapon State to be permitted on a reciprocal basis to install unmanned seismological observatories — the so-called black boxes -- in appropriate places within the territory of other nuclear-weapon States with a view to monitoring underground explosions.

69. But in the last analysis the most effective method is the one by which the data from seismological observatories in each country would be internationally exchanged and examined. In this case, however, little would be gained unless the data which were so exchanged covered all the important areas. Accordingly it is necessary for us first of all to know how wide is the monitoring range of existing seismological

(Mr. Asakai, Japan)

observatories. If there were areas which the existing seismological observatories could not cover, we would hope that each country would install seismological observatories in appropriate places within its own territory. We believe that by taking the steps I have just mentioned we would be able to make a further step towards the solution of verification problems. Since Japan, owing to its geographical location, is able to supply valuable observation data, we shall be able to contribute to the discrimination of seismic data.

70. The halting of the production of fissionable materials for weapons use and the transfer of the stockpiles of those materials to peaceful purposes are fundamental steps towards the reduction of nuclear weapons and are included in the proposals for general and complete disarmament of both the United States and the Soviet Union. The question of verification has been the biggest obstacle to the preparation of a treaty for this purpose; but a system of safeguards similar to that which is to be applied to non-nuclear-weapon States by the International Atomic Energy Agency in accordance with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons must also be applicable as a verification measure in this case. Accordingly we hope that the negotiations to halt the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes will not be further delayed on the pretext that the problem of verification is insoluble.

71. At the same time we also hope that the proposal that all nuclear-weapon States should bring their nuclear weapons to designated depots for disassembly, for removal of fissionable materials, and for destruction of the remaining components in a manner that would be demonstrated to nationals of all States, may be re-examined. Such proof of destruction of the components of nuclear weapons would certainly make all the peoples of the world understand the significance of article 6 of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, in which each of the parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue in good faith negotiations on effective measures relating to nuclear disarmament.

72. Needless to say, the freezing and the reduction of stockpiles of means of delivering nuclear weapons are closely related to nuclear disarmament. It is welcome news that negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union with regard to the control of strategic missiles are expected in the very near future. As has been

(Mr. Asakai, Japan)

pointed out by many representatives to this Disarmament Committee in the past, if a system of ballistic missile defence were once deployed, a means of penetrating that system would soon be developed, thus making inevitable a nuclear arms race which would form a vicious circle, reaching a point of no return. In addition to this, the deployment of such weapons as might enhance the temptation to strike first would destroy the balance of deterrence, thus damaging the present stability. Because the development of such new weapons systems is proceeding with astonishing speed, we sincerely hope that negotiations will be started for the cessation of the strategic arms race before the problem becomes too difficult for us even to seek a solution to it.

73. Such negotiations will probably take a considerable time. We hope, therefore, that both the United States and the Soviet Union will make every effort to reach an agreement, step by step, beginning their negotiations with such questions as might be easiest of solution. If the negotiations between the two countries relating to the control of missiles should fail to achieve any meaningful results, future discussions in this Committee, particularly on the question of concluding a treaty prohibiting underground nuclear-weapons tests, would be adversely affected. If, on the other hand, some agreement should be reached by the United States and the Soviet Union on the question of controlling missiles, it is surely to be expected that the chances of fruitful discussions in the Disarmament Committee would be greatly enhanced.

74. A thorough examination must also be made for the purpose of prohibiting chemical and biological weapons, since these weapons are, together with nuclear weapons, capable of being employed for the purpose of mass destruction. It was a most timely and appropriate step towards the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons that an expert group on chemical and bacteriological weapons appointed by the Secretary-General in accordance with last year's United Nations General Assembly resolution 2454 A (XXIII) (ENDC/237) completed the report on their study of the effects of the possible use of such weapons.

75. As far as concerns the prohibition of the use of poisonous gases and bacteriological weapons, we already have the Geneva Protocol of 1925. However, as scientific developments since then have made it possible to produce weapons which are not covered by that Protocol, it is imperative that we should supplement the Protocol. Furthermore, in order to eliminate the possibility of such weapons being used, it is imperative also

(Mr. Asakai, Japan)

that we should now prohibit the development and production of these weapons as well as scrap stockpiles of them. Undoubtedly it will be much more difficult to discover an effective means of verification of compliance with a prohibition of their production than in the case of nuclear weapons. We must not, however, abandon the search for the solution to this question.

76. This year's Spring session of the Disarmament Committee focused attention in its debate on the question of the prohibition of the use for military purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor. The prohibition of the use for military purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor is a preventive measure to check the arms race and, following the conclusion of the Treaty of Antarctica and of the Outer Space Treaty, it is extremely important for us to prevent the spread of the arms race to the sea-bed and ocean floor -- which occupies seventy per cent of the surface of the globe. Furthermore, in line with my country's approach that any realistic effort to achieve disarmament should start with the problems that can be most easily solved, we welcome the fact that both the United States and the Soviet Union have submitted draft treaties on this subject (ENDC/249; 240).

77. Japan subscribes to the idea that the use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof should be prohibited, in principle, for military purposes. We hope particularly that measures may be taken now in order to prevent the sea-bed being used as a military base for nuclear war. However, as Japan is surrounded by the sea, it is difficult for us to agree to the proposal that purely defensive devices against an attack from the sea should also be prohibited by the treaty. We hope that the treaty will be completed as soon as possible taking fully into account the security of every nation; and the Japanese delegation wishes to co-operate fully with the other delegations of this Committee to achieve this.

78. Today I have stated the fundamental positions of my Government on several problems in the field of disarmament. At later stages of our discussions I should like to present our views on some of these problems in detail and in specific form.

79. Permit me, in concluding my statement, to convey once again to all the members of the Committee the Japanese people's feeling of profound respect towards the noble efforts of this Committee, which is indeed holding high the torch of mankind's hope for lasting world peace and prosperity.

80. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia)(translation from Russian): First of all I wish to express on behalf of my delegation our gratitude to the representatives of the Soviet Union, Mexico and other countries for their warm congratulations and good wishes for the success of our work, as well as for the kind words addressed to our country.

81. Further, I wish to express to you, Mr. Chairman, and to all the members of the Committee our gratitude for allowing our delegation to speak for a second time at this meeting. In availing itself of this opportunity so kindly granted, our delegation would like to set forth briefly the position of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on the main items on the agenda of our Committee.

82. As I have already stressed in my previous statement here, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control to be the cardinal issue of the day, and it consistently supports any measures that may help towards stopping the arms race and averting the threat of a world thermonuclear war. The statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic, to which I have already referred, emphasizes that the interests of the defence of universal peace and the safeguarding of international security call for the adoption of further effective measures in the field of disarmament and a patient search for ways of bringing closer together the various points of view, bearing in mind above all the fate of the peoples and the future of our planet. In this nuclear age the very existence of mankind is in question. Therefore it is necessary above all to seek steadfastly for ways and means that would lead in the first place to nuclear disarmament.

83. Our Government is naturally fully aware that the achievement of general and complete disarmament is a complex problem fraught with many difficulties, both objective and subjective. The main obstacle on this path is the interests of those influential forces in the West which are known as the military-industrial complex. It is precisely the international alliance of those monopolistic syndicates engaged in the production of weapons that defends with might and main the further stockpiling of means of mass destruction. In order to justify their dangerous activities those forces put forward the so-called concept of mutual deterrence or mutual terror, which no sound-minded man could accept in this nuclear age.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

84. The Mongolian delegation shares the deep concern expressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, in his letter to our Committee of 15 February at the continuing arms race and plans for the development of new offensive and defensive weapon systems which are likely to bring about a new explosion in the race for nuclear and rocket weaponry. But now the risk of a thermonuclear catastrophe is so great that those who have taken upon themselves the enormous responsibility before the nations of working for disarmament have no right to surrender to difficulties. On the other hand, we believe that, notwithstanding the tremendous difficulties, the idea of the necessity of curbing and stopping the arms race is gradually gaining ground.

85. Thus our Committee is faced with a somewhat encouraging sign and a great number of serious problems calling for immediate solution. The one inspires us; the other compels us to exert still greater efforts towards the adoption of effective measures in the field of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. The Memorandum of the Government of the USSR on some urgent measures for stopping the arms race and for disarmament (ENDC/227) aptly covers those problems which deserve the most immediate attention.

86. The most important of the problems awaiting urgent solution is the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. In conditions where the combined power of the nuclear weapons already stockpiled in the world is more than enough to annihilate the whole of mankind, the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons meets the vital interests of all States and would be an important safeguard for the security of all nations. We consider that the Declaration of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons (General Assembly resolution 1653 (XVI)), which declares in particular the use of such weapons to be a crime against humanity, should be given legal force. It behoves our Committee to exert the utmost efforts to elaborate a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons on the basis of the existing draft submitted by the Soviet Union (ENDC/227).

87. The cessation of underground nuclear tests is another important question the solution of which would be a substantial step towards nuclear disarmament. In this question we base ourselves on the assumption that talk about the need for on-site inspection in order to carry out control over the implementation of the future treaty is motivated by

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

political rather than technical considerations. We consider that for such control national seismological means of detection are adequate.

88. In speaking of measures contributing to the aim of achieving disarmament, we must not forget the urgent need to limit and reduce strategic means of delivery of nuclear weapons. We must always bear in mind that the growth of the threat of a world-wide nuclear catastrophe is directly proportionate to the degree of improvement of strategic means of delivery of nuclear warheads. This shows the extraordinary urgency of an immediate solution to the problem of limiting and subsequently eliminating such means of delivery.

89. Recently we have had reports of certain signs that the United States Government intends to begin in the near future talks on questions concerning the mutual limitation and subsequent reduction of offensive strategic weapon delivery systems and of defensive systems against ballistic missiles, in favour of which limitation and reduction the Soviet Union, as we know, has repeatedly expressed itself. Our delegation has noted with due attention that this intention of the United States Government is reaffirmed in the message of President Nixon which was read out at this meeting a short while ago by the representative of the United States. Our Government joins in the appeals for the immediate starting of such talks with the earnest intention of achieving positive results.

90. In our efforts directed towards nuclear disarmament, an exceptionally important place is given at the present time to ensuring the ratification of the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/226*). The entry into force of that Treaty will be an important link in the system of measures leading to the outlawing of nuclear weapons.

91. The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of an effective prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons and of ensuring the strict observance by all States of the Geneva Protocol of 1925. Chemical and bacteriological weapons, for the production of which comparatively simple methods and inexpensive equipment and, consequently, a smaller outlay are required, are fraught with a great danger of unlimited proliferation. Moreover, the particularly inhuman and barbarous nature of chemical and bacteriological weapons consists in the fact that their sole target is living beings -- that is, mankind.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

For this reason only people who have lost all common sense oppose the prohibition of the use of such weapons. Our delegation hopes that it will be given an opportunity to set forth in greater detail the position of its Government on this urgent question when the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the effects of the possible use of chemical and bacteriological weapons (A/7575) is discussed.

92. The Mongolian delegation considers it a timely and urgent measure to work out principles and rules to govern the activities of States in exploring and utilizing the sea-bed and the ocean floor. The placing of any military equipment on this vast area, covering five-sevenths of the surface of our planet, must be prohibited. We share the view that the achievement of an agreement to prevent the military use of this comparatively new sphere of human activity is fraught with less difficulties than the solution of some other problems connected with disarmament. The task is all the more facilitated by the fact that we have the draft treaty (ENDC/240) elaborated by the Soviet Union on prohibition of the use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor for military purposes, which proposes a rational and generally-acceptable way of resolving this problem in the interests of all countries and peoples. We consider that our Committee should avail itself of these favourable opportunities as fully as possible. We hope that it will in fact make a real move towards achieving agreement on this urgent question.

93. Our delegation believes that the present session of the Committee on Disarmament will exert efforts to obtain the greatest possible concrete results for reporting to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, which in its resolution 2373 (XXII) (ENDC/226*) requested all States, including those represented on our Committee, urgently to seek effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race, nuclear disarmament, and general and complete disarmament.

94. I have set forth very briefly the position of the Mongolian People's Republic on some of the main items on the agenda of our Committee. We shall expound it in greater detail in regard to some of these questions when the need arises.

95. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil): On behalf of the Brazilian Government I should like to welcome the delegations of Japan and Mongolia who are joining this Conference today.

96. I particularly wish to express the sincere satisfaction with which my Government views Japan's admission to the Committee on Disarmament. Brazil has maintained for many years the most intimate and fruitful relations with Japan. The hundreds of thousands of Japanese immigrants into Brazil have, through their earnest work, contributed in a significant manner to the economic and social development of my country and are today fully integrated into our civilization. There are, furthermore, many instances of active Brazilian-Japanese co-operation in the economic and technical fields. This sentiment of recognition of the Japanese contribution to Brazilian prosperity is matched by a sentiment of admiration for what Japan has achieved: the unparalleled feat of breaking through the barriers of under-development and technological backwardness in less than a hundred years, thereby charting a new course for developing nations. A quarter of a century ago Japan underwent the tragedy of nuclear warfare, but has nevertheless fully recovered in one of the most remarkable performances of our times.

97. The uniqueness of those achievements places Japan in a paramount position to exercise an indisputable moral and political authority. By becoming a fully-fledged member of the Committee on Disarmament, Japan has gained an international forum where it can make its voice heard in the interests of world peace and disarmament. This voice will certainly be heeded, and it is clear that Japan's presence will add much significance to our deliberations. As a non-nuclear-weapon State that has attained a high level of technological development, Japan will undoubtedly provide the Committee on Disarmament with the benefit of relevant experience and a balanced judgement. Brazil trusts that Japan's contribution will bring us closer to fulfilling the terms of our mandate, thereby rewarding the great expectations of mankind as a whole from this Conference.

98. I am also confident that the People's Republic of Mongolia will give us very useful co-operation in the attainment of our objectives.

99. I do not want to mingle these words of joy and confidence with any criticisms; but it is no secret that my delegation holds strong views on the procedure that should be followed for the enlargement of the membership of this Committee. I shall later in the course of our current session devote a specific statement to this question.

(Mr. Frazão, Brazil)

100. Before I conclude these remarks, allow me to express the warm welcome of my delegation to the representative of the United States of America, Mr. James Leonard, to whom I extend my best wishes for the success of his mission.

101. The CHAIRMAN (India): I shall now read a statement prepared by the co-Chairmen with regard to the procedure of our work during this resumed session.

"The co-Chairmen are of the view that the Committee should follow the same procedures as at the last session. Formal plenary meetings would normally be held at 10.30 a.m. on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Recalling their statements of 6 August 1968[8/] and 22 April 1969[9/], additional formal meetings may be arranged on Wednesdays if members desire to speak on that day; if any delegation wishes to call an informal Wednesday meeting, the co-Chairmen should be notified a reasonable time in advance."

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 416th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador M.A. Husain, representative of India.

"Statements were made by the Chairman and by the representatives of Japan and Mongolia.

"After conclusion of the open part of the meeting, statements were made by the representatives of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mexico, Japan, Mongolia and Brazil.

"The representative of the United States of America conveyed to the Conference a message from the President of the United States (ENDC/253).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 8 July 1969, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

8/ ENDC/PV.387, para.42

9/ ENDC/PV.405, para.108